

Message Text

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PAGE 01 EC BRU 01025 160631Z

15

ACTION EUR-25

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CIEP-02 COME-00 DODE-00 EB-11 FEA-02 FPC-01 H-03

INR-10 INT-08 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 OMB-01 PM-07 RSC-01

SAM-01 SCI-06 SPC-03 SS-20 STR-08 TRSE-00 FRB-02

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION OECD PARIS

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L EC BRUSSELS 1025

STATE ALSO FOR T/IEP

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, US

SUBJECT: EFFECTS OF THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE ON THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY-PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT

REF: EC BRUSSELS 7454

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 EC BRU 01025 160631Z

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. WHILE TOO EARLY FOR DEFINITIVE JUDGMENTS, THE SPLIT BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE EIGHT IS LIKELY TO INTENSIFY THE MALAISE IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. THE EXPERIENCE IN WASHINGTON WILL HAVE A SALUTARY EFFECT IN MAKING CLEAR THE UNWILLINGNESS OF OTHER EC GOVERNMENTS TO GO ALONG WITH FRANCE IN GIVING THE COMMUNITY AN ANTI-AMERICAN COLORATION. THE COMMUNITY IS LIKELY, HOWEVER, TO FIND IT EVEN MORE DIFFICULT IN THE SHORT-RUN TO PROCEED WITH DEVELOPMENT OF COMMON POLICIES. THE SPLIT AND FRENCH INTRANSIGENCE ARE LIKELY TO COMPLICATE THE SITUATION FURTHER ON MATTERS INVOLVING DIRECT US INTERESTS SUCH AS THE ARTICLE XXIV:6 NEGOTIATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. PRIOR TO THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, WE TALKED WITH A CROSS-SECTION OF SENIOR COMMUNITY OFFICIALS AND FOUND THEM VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS IN VIEWING THE COMMUNITY'S CRISIS AS DEEP AND SERIOUS. THE TENSION BETWEEN FRANCE AND HER PARTNERS WAS INCREASINGLY EVIDENT ALTHOUGH FOR A TIME THE FRENCH AND BRITISH SEEMED TO BE FOLLOWING PARALLELED APPROACHES ON THE MIDDLE EAST. MOST OF THESE OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN IN WASHINGTON OR STRASBOURG THIS WEEK AND WE HAVE NOT, THEREFORE, HAS A CHANCE TO TALK WITH THEM FOLLOWING THE ENERGY CONFERENCE. IT IS OBVIOUS, HOWEVER, THAT THE DISPUTE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE OTHER MEMBER STATES IN WASHINGTON HAS, AT LEAST INITIALLY, DEEPENED THE SENSE OF CRISIS IN THE COMMUNITY. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT, ONCE THE INITIAL SHOCK WEARS OFF, THE COMMUNITY WILL DRAW TOGETHER AGAIN AND RESUME ITS PROGRESS UNDER HEALTHIER CONDITIONS. OUR PRELIMINARY VIEW IS THAT THIS IS UNLIKELY UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, HOWEVER. COMING ON TOP OF OTHER RECENT DEVELOPMENTS SUCH AS THE FLOATING OF THE FRANC AND THE ARGUMENT ON REGIONAL POLICY, WE BELIEVE THAT THE SCARS ARE DEEP AND WILL REQUIRE SOME TIME TO HEAL.

3. A KEY QUESTION NOW WILL BE GERMANY'S ROLE. MANY IN BRUSSELS HOPED THAT THE FRG WOULD AGAIN TAKE THE LEAD AS IT DID AT THE 1969 HAGUE SUMMIT. GERMANY, PARTICULARLY SCHMIDT, HAS NOW DONE SO, BUT UNDER QUITE DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES--ON THE ISSUE OF RELATIONS WITH THE US.

4. THE FACT THAT THE OTHER EIGHT HAVE REFUSED TO FOLLOW
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PAGE 03 EC BRU 01025 160631Z

THE FRENCH AND SET A LIMIT TO THE COMPROMISES THEY ARE PREPARED TO MAKE WITH PARIS ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS SHOULD HAVE A SALUTARY EFFECT. EVEN IN THE SHORT-RUN FOR EXAMPLE WE BELIEVE THE OTHERS WILL NOW BE MORE ALERT TO THE RISKS OF FOLLOWING THE FRENCH IN DEALING WITH THE ARABS IN THE COMMUNITY'S NAME.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, OUR DEALINGS WITH THE COMMUNITY

ON IMPORTANT ISSUES ARE LIKELY TO BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT AND FRUSTRATING THAN HERTOFORE. ON ENERGY, IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE COMMUNITY AS SUCH CAN PARTICIPATE IN THE FOLLOW-UP WORK OR WHETHER THE EIGHT WILL HAVE TO WORK WITH US ON AN INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL BASIS. WE ASSUME THAT THE FRENCH WILL WANT ESPECIALLY TO AVOID ANYTHING THAT MIGHT LOOK LIKE A CONCESSION TO US INTERESTS OR VIEWS. THIS SUGGESTS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THEY WILL FIRMLY RESIST AN IMPROVED ARTICLE XXIV:6 OFFER AND UNANIMITY IS REQUIRED ON THIS SUBJECT. THEY WILL ALSO HAVE PLENTIFUL OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPOILING ACTIVITIES IN DEVELOPING THE COMMUNITY'S MANDATE FOR THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS. WE ALSO ASSUME THAT THE US-EC DECLARATION WILL HAVE CONTINUED TOUGH SLEDDING. TO THE EXTENT FRANCE FEELS IT NECESSARY TO MAKE CONCILIATORY GESTURES TO HER PARTNERS, THESE ARE LIKELY TO BE ON PURELY EUROPEAN MATTERS, PERHAPS THE REGIONAL FUND.

6. CERTAIN IMPORTANT EC HOUSEKEEPING WILL PROBABLY GO FORWARD--SUCH AS SETTING AGRICULTURAL SUPPORT PRICES--BUT THE COMMUNITY WILL BE ESSENTIALLY MARKING TIME. BARRING TRULY STARTLING DEVELOPMENTS THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, OUR JUDGEMENT IS THAT THE COMMUNITY'S MALAISE WILL CONTINUE FOR SOME TIME; THAT THE COMMON MARKET WILL NOT BREAK UP; THAT THE EC COMMISSION WILL CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS TO MEDIATE AND GENTLY PROD THE MEMBER STATES TOWARD RENEWED PROGRESS; BUT THAT MOMENTUM CAN ONLY BE REGAINED WHEN THE KEY EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE REASSESSED THE SITUATION--AND PROBABLY WHEN ONE OR MORE KEY GOVERNMENTS ARE STRENGTHENED. MEANWHILE, COMMUNITY OFFICIALS ARE AWAITING RESULTS OF THE UK ELECTIONS--AND HOPING FOR A HEATH VICTORY. AND INCREASINGLY THEY ARE ANTICIPATING CHANGES ON THE POLITICAL SCENE IN PARIS. MYERSON

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